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[Title Page]

A STUDY OF A BALINESE FAMILY

By JANE BELO

INTRODUCTORY

OF a people numbering more than a million, divided into castes, into districts which have felt the varying influences of separate dynasties of rulers, and whose religion and social structure appear in all forms from the ancient Bali-Agă to the orthodox order of the Sivaite and Buddhist Pedandas, one would be bold indeed to attempt a study of *the family*. There are no statistics, and generalizations are almost certain to be, in some sense, false. But it is true that more than ninety percent of the Balinese are Sudra, the fourth and lowest Hindu caste, called in Bali djabă,[1] or outsiders. This is to distinguish them from the Brahmana, Satrya, and Wesya, who claim descent from the Hindu-Javanese invaders of Madjapahit, conquerors of the island in the fourteenth century. These djabă are, then, more "insiders" than outsiders, the real Balinese. They are organized into village groups, the desă, each with its council to which belong all married men who are householders. The desă has its individual adat (customary law), functioning quite apart from the laws laid down by the radjas of the past or the present Dutch administration. The village has a sub-organization into two or more bandjars, spatial divisions, each with its own meeting place for the men. The bandjars may once have been divisions of family groups, but now they resemble clubs, which rival each other in gamelan and theatrical performances, whose young men nourish a feud, and whose children dare not cross the invisible line which limits their own bandjar, lest they be set upon by "the other gang." Religion to the djabă means the regular giving of offerings to the spirit of his ancestors, in his own sanggah or household temple; offerings to the gods in the village temples, under the tutelage of the Pemangkoe, a priest also of djabă caste; propitiation of demons and bad spirits, on the roadside before the house,

[1] Throughout this paper I have used the Dutch phonetic spelling for Balinese terms. This is the spelling in current use in Bali, taught in the schools.

dj	is pronounced as j in jam	(djabă)
j	is pronounced as y in yam	(wajan)
nj	is pronounced as ny in canyon	(njoman)
tj	is pronounced as ch in chew	(tjenik)
oe	is pronounced as oo in moon or u in put	(doestă, ketoet)
e	is short unless accented, as in French	(ketoet, madé, metèn)
i	is pronounced as ee in deep	(bibi)
	or as i in tick	(tjenik)
a	is pronounced as in father	(djabă)
final ă	is pronounced as the final a in America	(djabă)

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at the crossroads, the graveyard; and only occasionally a pilgrimage to one of the temples of mountain-gods, sea-, lake-, and sacred spring-gods; proper and suitable celebration, with offerings and performances according to his means, of births, birthdays, tooth-filings, weddings, deaths, cremations, etc., in the family. As a rule it is only when some difficulty arises in the carrying out of the ordinary prescribed rites that the djabă turns to the Hindu high-priest, the Pedanda, for advice, and still more rarely, for his offices.

It has occurred to me that a study of one such ordinary Balinese—one of the 900,000 djabă—in his family relations, might be of value, not to lay down any rules, but simply as an illustration of certain common phenomena in the mores.

I have chosen, therefore, an ordinary family, in an ordinary village, lying halfway between the modern town, where the old customs are perforce breaking down, and the region of the old-style Bali-Agă villages, which in their isolation have preserved an order which is today more of a curiosity in Bali, not characteristic of the country as a whole. And so, although it must not be concluded that what has happened in this family is what necessarily would happen in any Balinese family, still the procedures may be taken as fairly typical—if one remembers that variations are great from village to village, and that the customs of the high-caste Balinese, as well as those of the Bali-Agă villages are not represented in the general picture.

A BALINESE FAMILY

Rendah is the head of his household, and therefore a pengajă, member of the village council. He owns his own pekarangan, a walled courtyard within the village limits, enclosing the shrines of his household gods, the living quarters of his immediate family, and the place of the pigs and fowls. He owns also a sufficient portion of the irrigated rice-fields surrounding the village for the maintenance of his family. The fields are tilled by himself, his brothers, and their sons when they are old enough. All the old people and the dependent women and children get enough to eat. If the crop is good, and there is rice left over, it may be sold in the market. The women cook and weave cloth (kamben) for the family, and carry up fresh water from the spring, night and morning. The small girls of five or six begin to help their mothers and aunts at this task, balancing a coconut-shell full of water on their erect heads. The little boys of the same age take charge of the ducks and the water-buffalo, driving them out into the inundated rice-fields at sunrise, driving them back to their shelters near the house-court, at dusk.

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159 Rendah has one wife, Rieh, who has borne him nine children. Three of
597 these died in infancy. His eldest, a girl, he has just given in marriage to her
165 paternal parallel second cousin, the eldest son of Gari, Rendah's own
582 paternal parallel cousin (fig. 1, I). This girl, Tingglih, has "followed her
591 husband," and now lives across the street in the house of her father-in-law Gari. Only five children remain in Rendah's house.

Rendah himself was one of eight children, also borne to his father by one wife (fig. 2, II). The children, in the order of their birth, receive title-
551 names, as follows:

Wajan—First-born
Madé—Second-born
Njoman—Third-born
Ketoet—Fourth-born.

553 If there are more than four children the series begins over again, and the fifth child is Wajan, the sixth Madé, etc. Every djabă must have one of these title-names, which precedes his given name. The given name is chosen by a system of divination through fire, from a group of names suitable to a child born on a certain day of the astrological calendar. It is rarely used,
596 except to children and to inferiors in age and in social status. To use the title-name is always more polite, and compulsory for inferiors in age and in social status. Thus Rendah, although he is the eldest son, was the fourth-
55 born of his family. He is called Ketoet by his equals, or I Ketoet Rendah
60 when they are speaking about him, to distinguish him from other Ketoets.
159 After the birth of his first child he is called 'Pan Tingglih,[1] father of Ting-

[1] 'Pan is the abbreviation of bapan, from bapă, father, with the possessive -n. In certain mountain districts the old word 'nang, shortened from nanang, father, is used.
104 for mother or aunt, is sometimes found instead of the usual mémé. On the island of Noesă
192 Penidă, belonging to Bali but with a distinctive dialect, bibi and bébé are in use for mother
601 and aunt as well as mémé, and maman for paternal or maternal uncle, reserving nanang for the biological father. In Balinese classical literature paman is used for uncle and as a familiar
184 form of address to older men (as a young prince speaking to his father's minister). In Malay paman may be used in the latter way, though its original meaning is maternal uncle. Iboe, mother, and jajah or adji, father, occur also in the literature. Iboe and adji are current high Balinese, and biang, mother, is found among high-caste people used as a title-name. Keramă is another old form for mother, found in the texts. Kaki, grandfather, appears in the literature more often than the current pekak. Nini and néné, old forms for grandmother, are rarely found outside the texts. Nini is still in use as the name for the rice-goddess of the harvest ritual, although apparently not universally known.

601 Koeranan is used for both husband and wife. The words moewani, male, and loeh, female, are commonly substituted in low Balinese for husband and wife. In high Balinese they are lanang, male, and istri, female; istri has come to have a more definite meaning of wife, although high-caste Balinese have many different words, as rabi, wife, prami swari, consort (of

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glih, and this appellation is still more polite and proper to be used by strangers, equals, and inferiors. All his younger brothers and cousins call him bli, elder brother. His own children, his nephews, and the children of his first and second cousins on both the male and the female sides call him bapă, father. In speaking of him, the children of his younger brothers and cousins may call him oeă, elder uncle (or aunt). His wife generally calls him bli, elder brother, or Ketoet, his title-name, and sometimes even bapă, as the father of her children. She, as his inferior, may not call him by his given name, Rendah. But he may call her by her given name, although he is more likely to use her title name, or to call her mémé, mother. When Tingglih's first child is born, Rendah and Rieh will be known as Pekak —— and Dadong ——, Grandfather of —— and Grandmother of —— followed by the given name of the child. Thus a man's own name tends to die out even during his own lifetime, as he grows older, and there is no one left to "speak down" to him. During this investigation I asked Rendah for the name of his own mother, who lives in the house with him. He could not remember, and was forced to inquire of the old lady herself. Her husband, Rendah's father, had been dead only six months. He alone of the household had the right to call her by her given name, and if Rendah could not remember it, the old man must not have availed himself of the right for many years.

Rendah's eldest sister, Wajan Koti, was married, and later "thrown away." She returned to her father's house. As Rendah has inherited house and household, she now lives within his courts, sharing in the work of the women.

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prince), penawing, wife from lower caste, and sang keringan, concubine ("married to the kris" when already pregnant). (Princes may take concubines without marriage ceremonies, but if a concubine is going to bear the prince a child, the ceremonies are carried out with the substitution of the prince's kris, borne by his high priest, in place of the bridegroom—so that the child may be made legitimate, although the mother is of lower caste.)

Brothers, sisters, and all relatives are called njamă (low) or semotonan (high). Elder brothers and sisters are called kakă. To address an older sister, or in polite usage any female older than one's self, mbok is used; to address younger brothers, sisters, or relatives, or in speaking of them, adi is used.

Child in the sense of "the child of ——" is pianak. For "a child" or "children," there is no word. Anak tjenik (polite) or anak tjerik (familiar) are substituted, which mean simply "small man." Anak in Malay means child in either of the above senses, but in Balinese it means man or person, as anak Bali, a Balinese, anak loeh, a woman.

Grandchildren are called tjoetjoe, great-grandchildren kelah or boejoet. Male and female great-grandparents are called koempi or koempiang.

Finally there are the terms matoeă, father-in-law, mantoe, son-in-law, and ipah, used for either brother- or sister-in-law.

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582 159 The second sister, Madé Njambléh, was given in marriage to the son of her father's male paternal cousin (fig. 1, II).

The third sister died at ten years.

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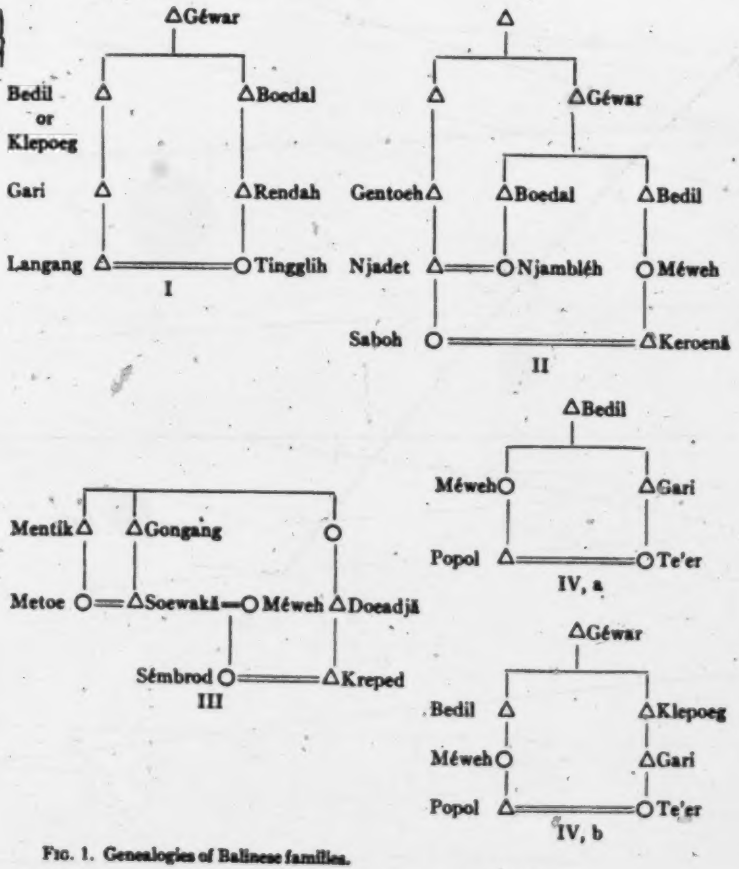

FIG. 1. Genealogies of Balinese families.

159 591 After Rendah came the fifth child, a boy, Wajan Mertă. This boy, on his marriage, moved out of his father's courts, and set up a household for himself farther down the road (see map, fig. 3). Thus he left Rendah, as

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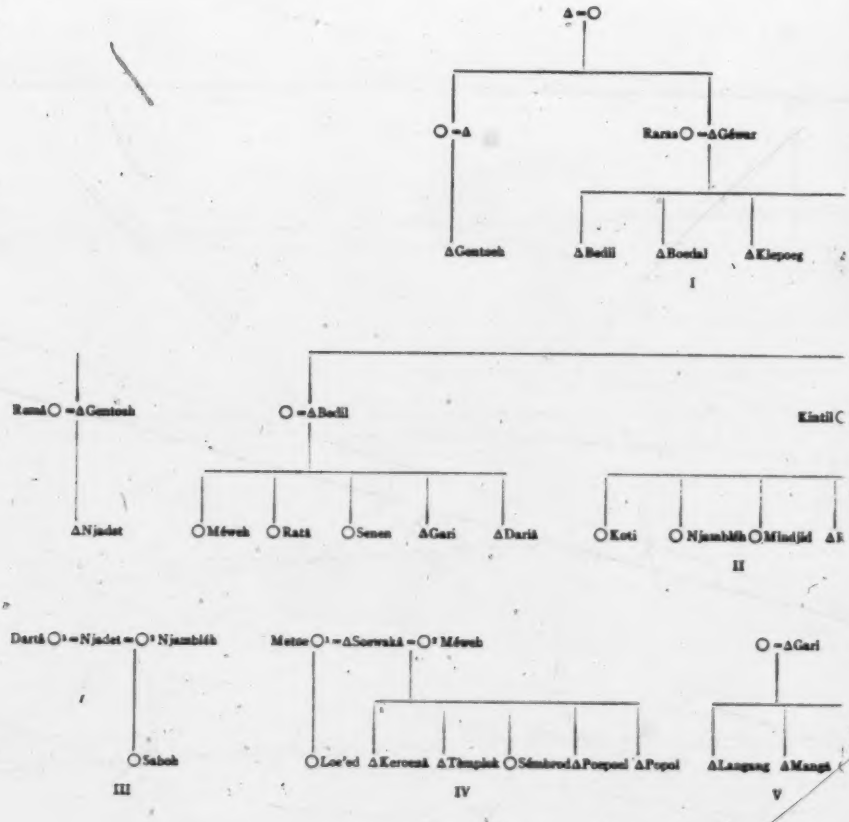

FIG. 2. Genealogies of Balinese

[P. 16 (B)]

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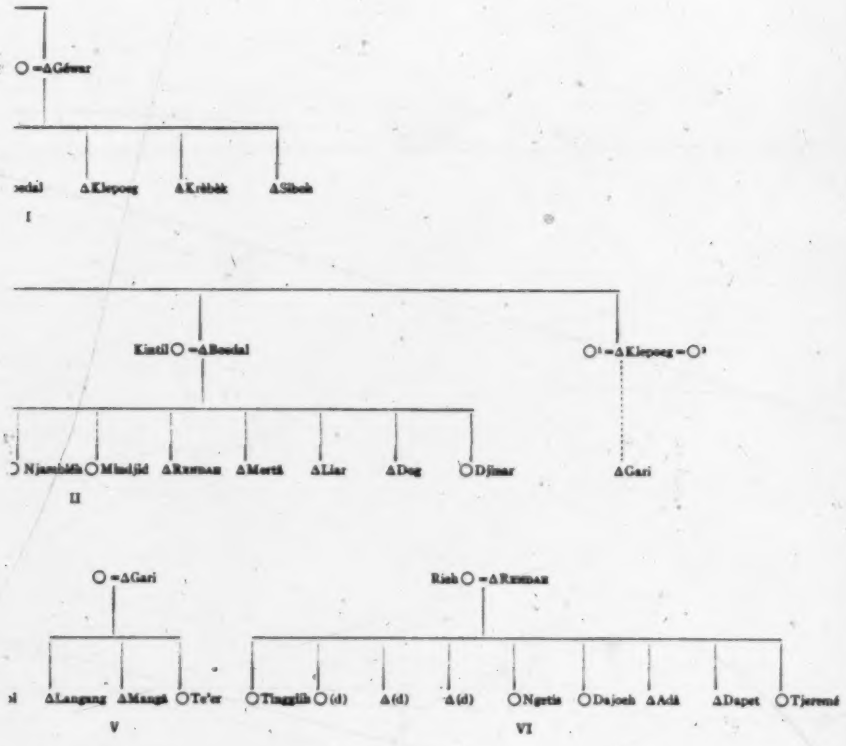

Genealogies of Balinese families.

[P. 16(c)]

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the eldest son, at the paternal house with his wife and children, to succeed the old man at his death. But this does not always happen, and as we shall see in other cases, it is more usually the older brothers who move out one by one and set up new households, leaving the youngest boy to succeed and take over the paternal house. (Daughters do not inherit property.) It may be that the desire for independence, when newly married, prompts the elder brother to depart, leaving his right of succession to the youngest.

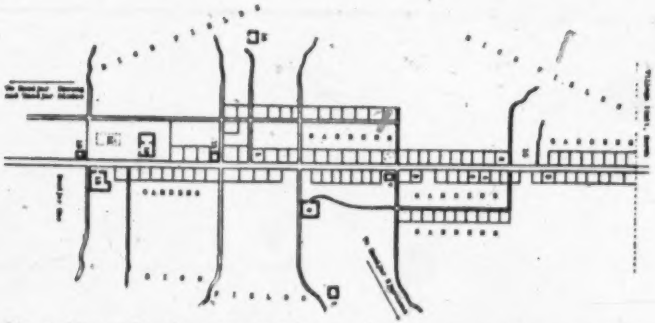

FIG. 3. Map of Bandjar Koetoeh, Village of Sajan. 1, House of the great-grandfather, Gentoeh-Njadet-Keroenă; 2, House of Géwar-Klepoeg-Gari; 3, House of Bedil-Dariă; 4, House of Boedal-Rendah; 5, House of Mertă; 6, House of Soewakă; 7, Balé Bandjar of Koetoeh, meeting house of the men; 8, Poeră Dalem, temple of the dead; 9, Poeră Panataran, temple; 10, Poeră Désă and Poeră Poeseh, village temple and temple of origin (common to the five bandjars); 11, Peken, village market place; 12, Poeri, "palace" of the Tjokordă; 13, Balé Bandjar of Bandjar Mas; 14, Poeră Nagasari, temple; 15, Poeră Panti, temple; 16, Semă, village graveyard and cremation place.

They say also that the youngest son has had, at the time of his father's death, less time to set himself up, and is therefore less able to fend for himself, than the others who have been married several years. Whatever the reasons, the rule is that the eldest or the youngest, not the intermediate son, inherits the paternal house. (See exception, pp. 23–24.)

The sixth child was another boy, who died in childhood. The seventh, Njoman Dog, another boy, who, although married for several years, has remained in the paternal house. He and his wife Rawi are now a part of Rendah's household. In Balinese this is called ngerob, "to share a kitchen." They say it is because Rendah is not strong, and Dog helps with the cultivation of Rendah's ricefields in return for sharing in the house. Rendah seems to have complete authority over Dog, and orders him about as his

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younger brother, putting most of the heavy work upon him. But it is true that Rendah is not strong and that Dog is not very bright.

Dog and his wife Rawi have no children. This is a tragedy to the Balinese. Rendah has recently allowed them to "adopt"[1] one of his little girls, Dajoeh. It would not seem to be a very serious change for the child, as they all live together in the same court, and she, with her brothers and sisters, has always called their aunt and uncle by the same names as their mother and father, mémé and bapă. However, Dajoeh senses a difference, and follows Rawi about, always at her heels like a young colt.

The eighth child of Rendah's father was a girl, Ketoet Djinar, who married and went to live in Njéstanan, a different bandjar of the same village. She is in and out of Rendah's house, helping when there is heavy work with the harvest, rice-pounding, or special preparations for a temple festival. But she neither eats nor sleeps there regularly.

The mother of all these children, whose name, she remembered, was Kintil, is of course also a member of the household. She continues to sleep in the place of honor, the balé săkănem, which in her husband's time she shared with him. Although the old man had been for several years in his dotage, unable to fulfill his functions in the village council (where he was represented by Rendah), and rather pushed aside by his grandchildren, Kintil is still a vigorous old woman in full possession of her faculties, respected and esteemed by all the household.

On the plan of Rendah's house (fig. 4) it will be seen that of the space enclosed by the walls the "highest," that is, the northeast corner, towards the mountains and the abode of the gods, is reserved for the household shrines. The balé săkănem is an elevated open pavilion, on a stone foundation, whose thatch roof is supported by six wooden pillars. There is a brick wall at the back, the other three sides are open. The space between four pillars forms a sleeping-place, a raised platform built between the pillars. Here the grandmother sleeps, sometimes with one or two of the children.

The metèn is a house with mud-walls enclosing two sleeping platforms, and outside, on the porch formed by the overhanging roof, are two more sleeping places, with curtains of red print material. Newly married young people, and young unmarried girls sleep in such inner rooms—they have reasons for privacy, or must be protected. Here the two girls Ngetis and Dajoeh usually sleep. Rendah sleeps on the porch, in the "higher" bed, towards the east, often with one of his little sons. His wife occupies the other outer bed. The baby sleeps with her, or in fact any of the younger

[1] The term is anak ngidih, "asked-for person."

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children, who have no fixed sleeping places, but are apt to visit about with their elders.

In the balé siang-sangă, which is a sort of family sitting room, also without walls, a place is found for the younger brother Dog and his wife Rawi. There are three platforms, and the children may also sleep here if they please. When guests are spending the night Dog and Rawi give up to them the largest bed, on a slightly higher level, to do them honor.

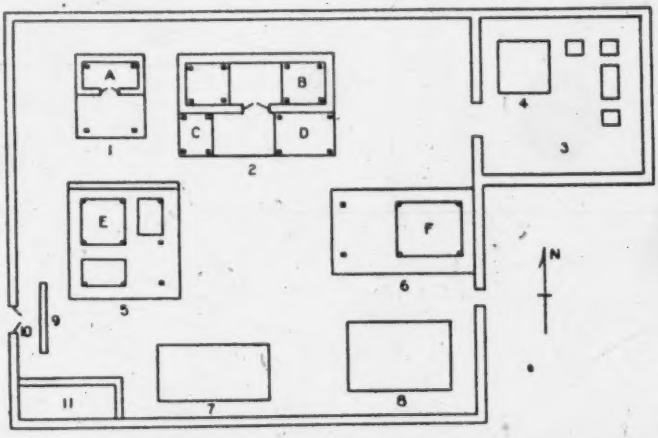

FIG. 4. Plan of the house of Rendah. 1, Balé Săkăpat, pavilion with four posts; 2, Metèn, house with inner room; 3, Sanggah, household temple; 4, Balé Piasan, pavilion for offerings; 5, Balé Siang-sangă, pavilion with nine posts; 6, Balé Sakanem, pavilion with six posts; 7, Paon, kitchen; 8, Djineng, rice-storing place; 9, Aling-aling, magic wall; 10, Kori, gateway; 11, Pigs. A, Koti; B, Dajoeh, Ngetis; C, Rieh, Tjeremé; D, Rendah, Adă; E, Dog, Rawi; F, Kintil, Dapet.

Koti, the eldest sister who was married and divorced, sleeps in a little room in the balé săkăpat, which is reserved for her.

The kitchen stands opposite to the metèn. East of this is the high pointed-roofed djineng, the rice-storing place. Behind are the pigs and fowls. Immediately opposite the entrance gate, blocking the court from the view of passersby and the attacks of evil spirits, is the aling-aling, a single strip of wall. The gate is a sort of stile, covered over by a thatched roof—you go up steps, through a doorway, and down more steps onto the roadway without. Cut into the mud wall on either side of the gateway are small niches used for offerings.

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159 The father of Rendah was called Boedal. He was one of five sons who
602 were, in order of birth, Bedil, Boedal, Klepoeg, Krèbèk, and Siboh (fig. 2, I).
[567] All five served during their adolescence as parakans, temporary slaves or attendants, to the local Tjokordă, a Satrya prince. In return the prince made them grants of land when they married. He was a prince famous for his generosity. "One was ashamed to ask anything of him, for he gave so much."

The father of these five was called Géwar. No one remembers the name of Géwar's father, nor of his elder brother, who figures in this study (fig. 2, I). All that we know about the old man, who was Géwar's father and Rendah's great-grandfather, is that he lived in a house next to the old "palace" (now disappeared) of the Tjokordă in Bandjar Koetoeh, the same bandjar which Rendah and his cousins still inhabit. Géwar was born in this house, but he did not inherit it. After his marriage, to Raras, also of Bandjar Koetoeh, he lived in the house marked 2 on the plan (fig. 3). Possibly this was a grant of the Tjokordă. In those days the region all about the village of Sajan was wilderness, covered with forest. When families grew and the young men wished to set up for themselves, they had to clear the ground for their housecourts and ricefields, level the land into terraces, and extend the canal system to bring water to their fields. This tremendous task must have been carried out by groups. It is known that the parent village of Sajan was Peliatan, a village at a distance of five or six miles, and that in the time of Rendah's grandfather and great-grandfather offshoots of many Peliatan families, the overflow from a district already fully populated, pushed out to form the new settlement of Sajan.

159 The five sons of Géwar, then, were born in House 2. The eldest, Bedil,
591 moved out from this house, and built House 3 at the time of or shortly after his marriage. He had five children, the three eldest, girls, the two youngest, boys (fig. 2, II). They are Rendah's paternal parallel first cousins. It is to the son of one of these cousins, Gari, that Rendah has married his eldest daughter.

591 The eldest daughter of Bedil, Méweh, became the second wife of a man
608 called Soewakă, who was a sentană to his first wife. A sentană is a young
428 man, generally a younger son, who marries the daughter of a man without sons. He then becomes the successor of his father-in-law, lives in the house of the bride's parents, makes offerings at the household shrine of her ancestors, and foregoes his own family. He inherits from his father-in-law house and land, and his children continue the line not of his parents, but of their maternal grandfather. In this case the man is said to "follow the woman," and becomes a member of her family, just as in the usual marriage

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the girl gives up her own family and her ancestor gods for those of her husband.

Soewakă was the son of a man whose elder brother had no male child, but a daughter. Soewakă married as a sentană this daughter, Metoe, who was his paternal parallel first cousin. Her father was then to him father-in-law, uncle, and adopted father (fig. 1, III).[4] Soewakă lived in the house of his father-in-law and later inherited it. Soewakă had only one child by Metoe, a daughter. He then took a second wife, who was Méweh (eldest daughter of Bedil and paternal parallel cousin of Rendah), and had by her five children, two of whom have married back into the family which concerns us here (fig. 2, IV).

It is customary, and considered more suitable, for a man who takes a second wife to provide her with a house of her own, so that the two wives, at least during the early years, will not have to live in too close proximity.[5] Soewakă built for Méweh what is called a koeboe, an informal sort of house, set out in the ricefields, not within the circumscribed limits of the village. Here Méweh still lives, although her children are grown up and married. With her are her second son, Tèmplok, with his wife and two

[4] A Balinese states the custom for choosing a sentană: "Take the family nearest on the male side, and if there is none [no son], only then can he be taken from the female side" (Ida Bagoes Hadipta, in an article on ancient adat in Bhāwanāgara, Nos. 4–5, 1933, p. 73).

[5] Household and dependents of Soewakă:

"Town house"
- Soewakă
- Metoe — his first wife
- Popol — youngest son of Soewakă by his second wife
- Te'er — wife of Popol
- child of Popol and Te'er
- Sampring — mother of Metoe

Koeboe No. 1
- Méweh — second wife of Soewakă
- Tèmplok — son of Soewakă and Méweh
- Kébek — wife of Tèmplok
- 2 children of Tèmplok and Kébek
- Poepoel — son of Soewakă and Méweh

Koeboe No. 2
- Loe'ed — daughter of Soewakă by Metoe (first wife)
- Gemoeh — husband of Loe'ed
- 6 children of Gemoeh and Loe'ed.

The total is twenty people, eleven adults and nine children, living in the three houses, but receiving their share of the common rice supply, kept in the "town house." Soewakă, and all the young men of the three households, work the ricefields which he inherited from Metoe's father.

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595 children, and her third son, Poepoel, who is unmarried. Her youngest son,
591 Popol, lives with his wife and child in the "town house" with his father and
Metoe. Metoe's daughter Loe'ed lives with her husband and her six children
592 in another koeboe also on her father's land, for the husband is poor and landless, and glad to work his father-in-law's fields in return for his share of the crop. (He is not a sentană, as Méweh has sons enough to carry on the line. Such a working relationship is called silih, which has the meaning of borrowing or repaying a debt, in friendly exchange.) Soewakă says that all these people, that is the two wives with all their children, sons- and daughters-in-law, and grandchildren (with the exception of the daughter Sémbrod and the son Keroenă), and including also the old mother of Metoe, all these people "get rice at his house." But those who live in the koeboes cook it in their own houses. Here the term which was used for the de-
[952] pendence of Dog in Rendah's house, ngerob, does not apply, for although they share the crop, they do not share a kitchen. Nevertheless Metoe's portion, which came to Soewakă as sentană, has sufficed to maintain his entire second family, as well as Metoe's daughter, with her husband and six children.

591 Keroenă, the eldest son of Soewakă and Méweh, also became a sentană.
608 He married Saboh, the only daughter of Njadet and Njambléh. Njambléh
582 is his mother's paternal parallel cousin, and Njadet the son of his mother's father's paternal parallel cousin (fig. 1, II). It will be remembered that Njadet and Njambléh were the children of paternal parallel cousins (p. 16).

The youngest son of Méweh, Popol, has married his maternal cross-cousin, Te'er, the daughter of Gari (fig. 1, IV, a). But this description, though biologically true, does not quite fit the case. Gari, born the brother of Méweh, was adopted at the age of three months by a childless uncle, Klepoeg. He became, then, by adoption, Méweh's paternal parallel cousin, instead of her brother. The marriage of Popol and Te'er is to be considered socially as another marriage of the children of paternal parallel cousins (fig. 1, IV, b).

582 There is one more child of Méweh who concerns us here, the daughter
611 Sémbrod, who married the son of her father's male paternal cross-cousin (fig. 1, III). Her case differs from that of her brother Popol, in that her relation to her husband sprang from an original cross-cousinship, carried through a parallel phase in the second generation; and Popol's relation to his wife (considered socially) sprang from an original parallel cousinship, carried through a cross phase in the second generation. Note that the description of Sémbrod's case holds true whether she is considered as the

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child of the line of Gongang, Soewakă's own father, or of the line of Mentik, father of Metoe, who became Soewakă's social and religious father when Soewakă married Metoe as a sentană. It is impossible for a Balinese to state definitely to which line Sembrod belongs, as she calls both Mentik and Gongang pekak, grandfather, just as she calls all her uncles bapă, father. Even Rendah, who is her mother's cousin, she calls bapă. That is why the matter of inheritance is significant in tracing the emphasis of kinship, for it is only after the fact of succession to property that one can be sure where the emphasis lies. In this particular family, of Metoe-Soewakă-Méweh, complicated by the sentană marriage on one side and the ordinary marriage on the other, we shall have to await Soewakă's death to see what transpires. One can only note probabilities from the present distribution of the family in the three houses, the "town house," and the two koeboes in the fields (cf. fn. 5 and fig. 2, IV). Metoe's only daughter Loe'ed did not marry a sentană, as might have been expected, although her husband is a poor man. They do not live in the town house, but in a koeboe of their own on Soewakă's land. There is no chance of their inheriting the town house, since succession does not go through daughters. Probably they will inherit a tenantry right to a portion of the ricefields. Méweh's eldest son, Keroenă, married as a sentană into the family of Njadet, and therefore has no further claim on his own family, but will inherit from Njadet. He is already pengajă, member of the village council, for that household; becaus[illegible]jadet has become too deaf to fulfill his functions. Méweh's secon[illegible] Tèmplok, lives with his mother in her koeboe, and he is peng[illegible]household. Poepoel, the third son, also lives there. Probably eithe[illegible]or Poepoel will inherit that house, perhaps share it. In any ca[illegible]e no chance for the town house, as they are intermediate sor[illegible]aughter Sembrod is now a member of her husband's family and can expect nothing from her father's estate. This leaves Popol, Méweh's youngest son, who would seem to be the logical heir to the town house. As we should expect, we find him living there with his father and his co-mother Metoe, ready to take over the rights on the death of his father.

Let us go back now two generations to the family of Géwar, where we find another curious case of inheritance, not conjecture this time, but accomplished fact (fig. 2, I). It will be remembered that Géwar had five sons who served as parakans of the local prince. He lived in the house marked 2 on the map. His eldest son, Bedil, after his marriage, lived in house 3, and the second son, Boedal, in house 4 (which is now Rendah's). It was the third son, Klepoeg, who inherited the paternal house, No. 2.

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It came about in this way: the Tjokordă, prince of the district, was waging war on the region to the south of Sajan. He was victorious, and the inhabitants fled, leaving the country deserted. Krèbèk, the fourth son of Géwar, was sent away by the Tjokordă to Bandjar Toenon, in the conquered district, as a settler. He was given a grant of land, and therefore did not succeed to any of his father's lands in Sajan.

The fifth son, Siboh, who might have been expected to inherit the paternal house, was married as a sentană, and moved away to the house of his father-in-law in Bandjar Mas, thereby forfeiting his claim. And so it was that the third son, Klepoeg, was the only one left to inherit the house of Géwar. His two elder brothers already had houses of their own, and his two younger brothers had departed from the bandjar before their father's death.

Now Klepoeg had the house, and he took two wives, but he had no children. This was an important matter not only to him, but to the entire family. For although each pekarangan must contain its individual household temple, the sanggah of the paternal house is larger, and all the children and grandchildren feel a responsibility for keeping up this parent-temple, whence their own house-temples spring. Surely the spirit of the forefathers is more powerful there! And so an heir must be found for Klepoeg, who has inherited the house of Géwar and become guardian of his sanggah. The eldest brother, Bedil, who has already three daughters, hands over to Klepoeg his first-born son, at the age of three months. This child, who is Gari, still lives in the house of Géwar. He has inherited his grandfather's house, not as the child of the eldest son, but as the adopted child of the youngest son who remained at home.

The house in which Bedil lived has passed on to his younger son Darià, who lives there now with his wife and four children (House 3).

It is difficult to trace the inheritance of property other than the dwelling house. For the ricefields are loaned, mortgaged, paid for in labor, or held by a system of tenantry with a sharing of the crops, all arrangements made between individuals, rarely with a written agreement. Within the family land is loosely held, and a man will speak of as his all property belonging to himself and his brothers, even of his cousins. Princes claim as theirs land which may have been given as a grant by their father or grandfather in return for services already rendered, or else let out on a crop-sharing basis, or even land originally owned by the commoner, but which the prince has planted with lines of his own coconut trees between the fields. The Balinese have an extraordinary memory for their relative indebtedness to every individual of their acquaintance, and the balance of favors given and

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received swings back and forth through the generations. But all the same, when quarrels arise, the present government has difficulty in settling the ownership of property to which one man may hold the deed,[6] whereas another has been farming it and paying the taxes on it for ten or fifteen years.

In the case of Rendah and his two surviving brothers, the ricefields of their father are supposed to have been divided between them. Rendah, as the eldest, claims to have got a larger share than Mertă and Dog. Now Mertă maintains a separate household, whereas Dog lives in the house of Rendah, and has no child (except the daughter of Rendah whom he has adopted). Rendah says that two-thirds of the land belongs to him, but that as the land is all lumped together, and worked chiefly by Mertă and Dog, they divide the crops between the two households, that of Mertă and that of Rendah, which includes Dog. Rendah's household consists of six adults and five children, Mertă's of two adults and seven children. "If he has not got enough rice, I give it to him, whereas if I am lacking, he gives to me," says Rendah. Hence we assume that the division of the crop is done on a friendly basis according to necessity, and if Rendah's household should diminish through the death of the old mother and sister, or the marriage of his daughters, and Mertă's increase with the birth of more children, the ratio could be proportionately altered. But it is hard to tell, when Rendah says he owns two-thirds of the land, whether this is really all his, or whether he is counting with his own Dog's share, since Dog is in the position of a dependent in his household. In this case it is of no particular importance, as Dog has no son to inherit from him.

It will be noted that of the eleven marriages recorded in Rendah's generation, only two were polygynous. Njadet married Dartă, and having no children by her, took his paternal parallel second cousin Njambléh, who gave him one daughter. When she grew up, a sentană marriage was arranged with her cousin Keroenă, who is related to her both on her mother's and on her father's side (fig. 1, II). In the son of this marriage, Njadet has at last got his heir to carry on the line. The other marriage of two wives was when Soewakă, who, as sentană husband to Metoe, had only a daughter, wedded his second cousin Méweh as a second wife, and by her got four sons.

In the preceding generation Klepoeg and Krèbèk had each two wives.

[6] The deed, called pipil, is in writing, engraved upon a leaf of the tal palm. It is tucked away in a safe place, and forgotten. In the case of land which I rented, the search for the pipil lasted six weeks. It was finally discovered in a roof-bamboo of the house of the paternal second-cousin of the "owner."

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Klepoeg's first wife seems to have been unsatisfactory, and was divorced. She had no children. Neither did her successor, Gijoer. Klepoeg obtained an heir by adopting the son of his brother. On Krèbèk, who moved away to another district, we have no information beyond the fact of his marrying twice.

It is of course impossible to draw any conclusions on polygyny from such a limited study. The cases mentioned only illustrate how the taking of a second wife is more strongly motivated by the need for sons than by an affectional urge towards the woman. It would be expected that the young men for whom initial marriages have been arranged would later wish to exercise an independent choice. But, as we have seen, even the second marriage may be an arranged one, between cousins. The Balinese say that a poor man who has one good wife can ill afford to take another. As a rule any wife who is not unfaithful, and who has borne a son, is considered "good." It is the son, in Balinese culture, who is of most importance—a social and religious necessity.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS

It is generally said of Bali that marriage is by abduction, the husband subsequently making a payment to the bride's father, varying from 10,000 to 50,000 kepengs (value approximately 12 to 65 Dutch guilders). It is true that this custom is widespread, and prevalent in the districts around Den Pasar and Boeleleng, the big townships. It may be found surprising that no such marriage is mentioned in the study of Rendah's family. There is much evidence to show that the form of arranged marriage practiced in Rendah's family, planned to link the households of relatives and friends, and without monetary compensation, is the older and more characteristic procedure. In fact, the old men of Sajan say that in their generation (before the Dutch occupation) girls were often stolen from one village by the young men of an enemy village, but that, instead of the husband's making a payment to the bride's father, the father would make a payment to the young man so that the girl should be returned to her village and the marriage dissolved. To have one's daughter marry in a hostile village was to lose sight of her completely. They say that if the match is suitable the father asks no payment, and only if he were angry would he require compensation of the bridegroom. Cynical and commercial-minded young men of the towns say, "the father always manages to be angry, so that he will get the money."[7] But for the old-fashioned people of Sajan this is not true.

[7] Certainly it is considered decorous for the father to at least pretend anger at the ravishing of his daughter, just as the girl herself must weep and struggle to escape at the time of her capture, even though she has previously agreed, and helped to plot that capture.

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Rendah said to me, on the occasion of his daughter's marriage to her cousin, whose house is across the street, "I would rather roegi [take a financial loss] than to have my child marry away from home. If she married in another village, I should have the money, but my heart would be sick."

Such a remark, reflecting a sentiment of paternal devotion, must not be taken only at its face value. The Balinese, like other races, often say things which "sound well," but do not render their complete thought process, and are therefore misleading. It is not to be assumed that a man like Rendah, in giving away his daughter to her cousin, is actually casting to the winds a profit of ten or twenty thousand kepengs, having weighed them as nothing beside the possibility of losing sight of his child. Certainly he would prefer to have her near home. But to have her marry into a family with which he already has an established relation of favors given and received is more satisfactory than to set up a new link with a family of comparative strangers. And if he should accept compensation, he would be sanctioning a system which would not profit him in the end, for might not his own sons then have to pay for their brides? It would seem that these indebtedness relations are best carried on within the family group.

In connection with this it must be mentioned that sister-exchange between parallel cousins, maternal or paternal, is not permitted. This statement was made to me by various informants. None mentioned the prohibition of sister-exchange between cross-cousins, nor between unrelated families. I did not find any reference to sister-exchange in Balinese texts. The term used for the forbidden sister-exchange of parallel cousins is malik-terbalik, meaning a reversal, a going and coming. Malik may be a Balinese form of the root balik, although balik or walik are those commonly used in other connections; terbalik is definitely a Malay form, foreign to the Balinese language. But as many informants speak Malay fluently, and consider it a more polite usage to foreigners, the form of the term is not a proof of the late introduction of the taboo.

The difference in the two marriage schemes, that of the arranged marriage as against the marriage by abduction, reflects on the divorce. A woman may be "thrown away" by her husband for various reasons: she is barren, quarrelsome, or unfaithful. She may either return to her father's house, or, if she has a lover, marry him. Whether or not a payment has been made to the father, the father does not have to make any restitution to the husband in case the marriage fails. But the lover or second husband must in either case pay compensation money to the wronged husband. This is rather more expensive than the cost of an unmarried girl, for besides the cost of the woman, a fine must be paid to the community.

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626 This is part of the old village law, now taken over by the courts—a sort of
586 punishment and compensation for disturbing the "balance" of the social
587 group. I have known a case of an unusually fickle woman, who passed from one husband to another in such rapid succession that none had had time to pay for her before being deserted. Husband No. 4 found himself sued for a sum in which each of her previous husbands had a share: No. 4 was to pay No. 3, who owed No. 2, who still had not paid No. 1. The father also had a claim, but with faint hopes of recovery.

586 A wife who is maltreated by her husband has the option of returning to her family, where she will be graciously received if they do not consider her in the wrong. At the present time, if she can prove her husband's delinquency in the courts, she may obtain some right over the children. However, even under the old regime, a husband has been known to allow the wife to bring up the children in a separate establishment, although they are considered chiefly his, and the descendants of his ancestral line.

583 There was the case of a girl for whom a marriage was arranged with
584 her cousin, the son of her father's elder brother. Her father had died, leaving his wife with four girls and a baby boy, and no one to provide for them. The cousin's branch owned house and land, whereas the girl's family had nothing, not even the space on which their house stood. Her father had occupied the land as tenant-farmer to the Tjokordā, and after his death, as there was no man left to till it, the land was forfeit. Obviously the marriage of the eldest daughter to her cousin would have been advantageous, and all her relations urged her to agree to it. The wealthy branch could have advanced the money needed to buy the land on which her house stood, and thus saved the house for her mother and sisters, and eventually a heritage for the small brother. But the girl resisted all persuasion to the match. Finally the grandmother resorted to a ruse. She came to the girl, asking her to prepare medicine for her cousin, lying ill with a fever. The girl collected the necessary herbs and spices, pounded them together, and brought them to her cousin's house. Although she hated him, she could
[602] not refuse to help a relative in illness.

"He lies within," said the grandmother, indicating the metèn, the room enclosed with walls. "Take it in to him."

The girl entered the room. At once the old woman pulled the door to, and bolted it on the outside. The young man leapt up from the couch to embrace his unwilling bride.

583 For several days the girl was kept a prisoner. When they began to relax
586 their vigilance, she ran away, but her cousins always pursued her, and brought her back. They believed that once used to the young man, she

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would give in. After a time she did relent, and when a month had passed, agreed to the purification ceremony, mesakapan, which solemnizes a marriage. But within three days of the ceremony she could stand no more, and again escaped. It was too late to return to her home, especially as her mother and sisters had been in favor of the marriage from the beginning. She ran away to the town, where she lives at the present time, kept by an Arab merchant.

This case suggests that the women can, and sometimes do, rebel against marriages arranged with their cousins. Certainly with the peaceful times under the Dutch administration, when it is safe to visit other villages without fearing assault, and the increased freedom of communication by motor-bus and bicycle, the young people are more apt to resist an unwelcome marriage. There is infinitely more opportunity for a free choice, based on mutual attraction, than there was. In the old days, living in the enforced isolation of the village surrounded by hostile camps, if a girl refused her cousin or neighbor she might get no husband at all. Also, she was the more likely to be pleased with him, so few were the youths of her acquaintance with whom she might compare him.

We have seen that marriages of first and second cousins, both maternal and paternal, are frequent, and that no special distinction is made between parallel and cross-cousins. In Balinese the name for them is the same: misan, first cousin, mindon, second cousin, whether paternal or maternal, whether cross or parallel. Marriages of third cousins are more difficult to trace, as there is no term for them other than the general term for brother, relative, njamă (low Balinese), semotonan (high Balinese).

The ordinary incest taboos are as follows: a man may not have sexual connection with his mother, his sister, his half-sister, or the mother of his half-sister or half-brother (that is, his mother's co-wife). The penalty for this first degree incest, according to records of ancient adat, includes immediate banishment from the formal limits of the village, a great purification ceremony with animal offering to the bad spirits, and sometimes a rite whereby the offending pair are dressed in the yokes worn by pigs, and made to approach on all fours and drink out of a pig's drinking trough.[8] Subsequently the two are to be banished from the village for life and their lands confiscated. As such banishment in the old days left them no recourse but to wander off in the jungle, there to be hunted by wild beasts or to face death from starvation, the punishment amounted in fact to a death sentence. No other village would take in people banished from their own

[8] Recorded as part of the adat of the village Boeoengan, district of Bangli (Ida Bagoes Made Hadipta in Bhāwanāgara, Nos. 4–5, 1933, p. 71).

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835 684 village, lest they bring ill luck and disaster. It can be imagined that the infringement of this incest law has not been frequent.

Less serious punishment falls upon the offenders in second degree incest, which is (1) sexual connection of a man with his aunt, either his father's or his mother's sister; or (2) connection with his first cousin once removed, that is his father's or his mother's first cousin. The first is called reramă dimisan, "mother at (or of) the first cousin," the second reramă dimindon, "mother at (or of) the second cousin." Offenders in these cases are banished [805] [783] from the village for a period of a year (420 days), but are allowed to return to the village after the completion of the necessary purification rites. They spend the intervening year in a hut put up for them on some unholy ground, the graveyard or the crossroads, and are not allowed during that time even to enter the village limits. It will be noted that both relations have the mother element reflected in the terminology, and that the man belongs to the generation younger than the woman, and therefore stands with her as a child to its mother. Similar relations but reversed, as of a man to his niece, or to his first cousin's daughter, are not forbidden, and entail no banishment, according to the old adat. There is here a feeling that the male should be older than the female, as he is her superior, and that he 581 should not marry, or have connection with, a woman belonging to an older 182 generation, even though he might be her senior in actual age. The law also may be based on a desire of the older males to maintain their authority within the household, and to prevent younger males from threatening their authority by marrying into a generation equal to their own. And perhaps it may have originated as a safeguard to the morality of the household during the absence, at work or at war, of the father, the head of the family.

In connection with the incest laws an exception may be mentioned, 582 that of boy and girl twins, who may marry each other.[9] Among the djabă 845 the birth of such twins is considered a great wrong (manak salah), for the brother and sister are thought to have had a too intimate contact in the womb of their mother. The event will bring famine and disaster upon the entire village, unless averted by the temporary banishment of the children and their parents, followed by great offerings for purification and the propitiation of the evil spirits. When these rites are completed, and the twins have grown up, they may marry, for their incestuous connection is considered to be already atoned for. Since Balinese legendary history contains many examples of boy and girl twins who married and brought forth a tribe, or a line of kings, there is a certain feeling that boy and girl twins

[9] See the author's Rites and Customs Connected with the Birth of Twins in Bali (Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Batavia, September, 1935 [in press]).

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are intended to be man and wife, even though it is wrong for them to be so connected. At the present time it is rare for such twins to marry, although the banishment and propitiatory ceremonies are still widely practiced.

Curiously enough, it is not considered a wrong for very high-caste people to have such twins. But there are many divergences in the customs of the high-caste Balinese from those of the djabă. In passing it may be mentioned that men of the three higher castes may marry women who are djabă, whereas it is a crime for high-caste women to marry or to have relations with a man of lower caste than their own. Offenders used to be either drowned in the sea or banished to another island. Within the past five years the government was forced to deport a Brahmana woman and a djabă man, who, banished from their own village, were refused admittance to all other villages and towns.

The Balinese lontars, sacred texts written on leaves of the tal palm, describe in full the penalties and atonements for the unusual case in family matters: incestuous unions, birth of twins, seductions, suicides, etc. These are the things that are "not done." But for the things that are done, the customary, everyday occurrences, there are no written rules. That is why I have presented this study of a single family in its intimate relations, with the hope that it will give some picture of the family life running its ordinary course.

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